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KLAMATH ETHNOGRAPHY

BY

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I. KLAMATH SOCIAL LIFE

THE KLAMATH AND THEIR TERRITORY

Tribal Relations and Population

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The Klamath are the northern of the two major dialectic groups of the Lutuami linguistic stock, the other, the Modoc. Dialectically there is little difference, but of the two the Klamath have the richer, more specialized culture.

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The Klamath recognize a number of local autonomous subdivisions but consider themselves a social unit. They call themselves ma'klaks, men;[1] all other tribes are known by directional or locality names. The origin of the designation Klamath is obscure; incidentally they pronounce this klă'măt, much as the early travelers wrote it. It is not a native name and evidently differs so much from native forms that none of my informants even attempted an etymology. Curiously enough, all the Klamath reserve the name for the Klamath marsh-Williamson river subdivision (ă'ukckni); others are "Klamath" only by courtesy. The reason may be that this is not only the numerically [114] strongest subdivision, but the reservation on which they are now concentrated is little more than the old ă'ukckni territory. Gatschet suggested that the name is a Yurok word.

Its earliest use is perhaps that of Ogden in 1826. He uses the name "Clammitte" before reaching the country, possibly learning it among the Columbia river tribes. Yet members of his party had visited the Klamath country the year previous and may have learned it there. Elliott suggests an origin in "French Clair-metis, meaning a light mist or cloud."[2] Incidentally there is now no good reason for

[1] Gatschet states that the form ma'klaks (ma'klaks in my orthography) means one of themselves, măklaks, any other Indian (Gatschet, 1, xxxiii). My informants denied the existence of any such distinction, and indeed of the first form.

[2] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 202.

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101 114 using the name for others on the Klamath river, whatever the local usage in northern California. It will save the need for cumbersome titles like "the Klamath Lake Indians" if the name is reserved for the people described in this paper.

The Klamath are called dak'-ta!a^{a}m-al-a'^{i} or dak'-ta!a^{a}w-an-a'^{i}, "those above the lakes," by the Takelma of middle Rogue river[3] and wols by the Hanis or Upland Takelma of the Medford-Ashland district.[4] The Kalapuya call them Athlámeth,[5] which Kroeber suggests as a possible origin of Klamath.[6] Gatschet states that

> the Warm Spring and other Sahaptin Indians possess a generic name for all the Indians living upon this reservation and its vicinity: Aigspaluma, abbr. Aigspalo, Aikspalo, *people of the chipmunks*, from the innumerable rodents peopling that pine covered district. This term comprises Snake, Payute, and Modoc Indians, as well as the Klamath Lake people.[7]

This appeals to me much as a folk etymology from a hybrid "people of ă'ukci' (Klamath marsh)." The same authority gives as Shasta designations makai'tserk and au'kniwash. This Kroeber reproduces in the form auk-"niwash," as if compounded from the Chinook jargon word for Indian, but the first part also suggests ă'ukci. To the Pit river Indians (Achomawi and Atsugewi) they are ala'mmimakt ish, from ala'mmig, upper Klamath lake.[8] Curiously enough none of my informants knew what the Northern Paiute call them; Gatschet gives sa'yi, which is suspiciously like the name they give the Paiute, sat.

101 The Klamath make little distinction between tribes at a distance, naming them indiscriminately by direction. Thus the Modoc are mo'adōk ma'klaks, south people, or mo'adōkkni, southerners, the Pit river tribes, moă'tuwas, all derived from mo'as, south. At least one group of Modoc, gu'mbatwas, is distinguished by dialect.[9] No distinction is made between the several tribes of the upper Pit river (Achomawi, Atsugewi, etc.). A southern people called ḳadō'kiwōs is known but probably only since the white advent. They lived thirty or forty miles west of Mount Shasta, near the Shasta, and

[3] Sapir, Takelma Texts, 257; Notes on the Takelma, 255.

[4] This is Klamath information. By this word (wilx, meaning enemies, Upland Takelma, or Shasta in Takelma proper) I identify the Hanis or Wa'lămakai with Sapir's Upland Takelma (Notes, 252).

[5] Gatschet, 1:xxxiv.

[6] Handbook, 319.

[7] *Op. cit.*, 1:xxxiii.

[8] See also Merriam, 48.

[9] "The Kămbatuash lived on southeastern end of Tule (or Rhett) Lake, California." (Gatschet, 1:14.)

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hunted on the Klamath river above them. This seems to be the Shasta name for the Wintun of Trinity river, hatukwiwa or hatukeyu, which agrees with Gatschet's ascription, Sacramento Valley Indians.[10] The Shasta themselves are known only as că'sti. This might be taken as the long sought origin of the name Shasta, was there not the suspicion that its use may be only recent, displacing another and older application of "southerners" to them. Their principal seat near Yreka is că'stikăn, Shasta place.

Similarly all northern tribes are ya'mŏkkni, northerners (from ya'mŏt, north). By exclusion of the Indians at Warm Springs and the Dalles, however, this has come to mean the half Plains-like tribes farther up the Columbia. The Warm Springs people and those at [114] Celilo near the Dalles are wătă'nkkni, a form which indicates that they are named for their locality. Gatschet gives wăităngi'sham and lókuashtkni.[11] The linked tribes at the Dalles, Wasco and Wishram, are the ŏ'mpkănkni, those of the locality ŏ'mpkăn, which by description must be in the neighborhood of Wasco, Oregon. This suggests that the word is from a'mbg, water (with a common locative suffix, cf. că'stikăn, tcŏkăn, service berry tract), hence is a translation into Klamath of the name Wasco. This, according to my own Wishram information, means "like a pan" (wask'o) and refers to a spring at or near the present town of that name.

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Since I completed field work with the Klamath, there has appeared Teit's paper defining the original occupation and the extensive tribal movements in northern Oregon and eastern Washington.[12] Had this been available, it would undoubtedly have been possible to render more exactly the meanings of ya'mŏkkni and wătă'nkkni.

It appears from Teit's conclusive evidence that at the opening of the eighteenth century all of eastern Washington was Salish territory as far as the Dalles. South of the Columbia was a band of Wailatpuan territory, with the Molala on the middle Deschutes and in the mountains to the west, and with the Cayuse eastward of them nearly to the Snake river. South of these again were the Sahaptin peoples with the Cascade range and the Klamath on their west, the Nez Percé to the northeast, and the Snake groups on their other boundaries.

A series of movements beginning in the eighteenth century resulted in the withdrawal of the Salish to north of Priest Rapids because of the occupation of their territory by Sahaptins and the Cayuse. The Molala also withdrew into

[10] Kroeber, Handbook, 355; Gatschet, 1:393.

[11] *Op. cit.*, 1:lvi, 18. My informants ascribed to them painted tipis (so'klŏks) of buffalo skin, long dance lodges made on a foundation of tipis, but no earth-lodges.

[12] The Middle Columbia Salish.

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101 114 the mountains and westward even beyond the Willamette valley, the Sahaptin Tyighpam settling in part of their country and the Tenino joining the Wasco. The immediate cause of these movements seems to have been the pressure of Snake raids, at their height about 1800–30. This is consonant with the very early acquisition of the horse by the Snake and their known warlike relations with the Plains tribes, which Wissler has demonstrated.[13]

This would explain the wide expanse of vacant country between the Klamath and the Dalles or at least as far as Warm Springs. In addition, Pitt writes: "For a number of years the south side of the Columbia between Wallawalla and The Dalles was practically devoid of inhabitants" for fear of Snake raids. My informant, Coley Ball, stated that about 1865–70 there were no settlements between Klamath marsh and the Wasco villages at the Dalles. There were no Molala east of the Cascades. How recently the mixed group of Wasco-Tyighpam-Tenino occupied the Warm Springs country, I do not know. This would also explain the anomalous position of a Molala group on the very headwaters of the Rogue river where presumably they represent the final southerly drift along the western crest of the Cascade range.

101 West of the Cascades are Upland Takelma in the region from Ashland to Table Rock. They are wa'lŭmskni; Mount Pitt is wa'lŭmsyaina (yaina, mountain); the name then is regional, not directional. They are called ha'nis quite as frequently, but this name, which is properly that of the Coos group at Coos bay, has evidently been extended to them and others since the remnants of these tribes were collected at Siletz reservation.[14] In the extreme upper Rogue valley are Molala, teŏkă'nkni, those of the service berry (teŏk) patch.[15] [114] Gatschet gives mókai or móke as the Klamath name for the Kalapuya.[16] Beyond these groups none of the western Indians are known. Those of the lower Rogue river are now called soljo'kni, those of the salt water, but this is from the Chinook jargon, saltchuck.[17]

All the Shoshoneans to the east are called sat; no distinctions are made. The actual neighbors are those groups known to us variously as Northern Paiute (Paviotso) and Snake. The Snake proper and Bannock may not have been in Oregon prior to the acquisition of the horse.

[13] The Influence of the Horse, 13.

[14] Frachtenberg, Coos and Siuslawan (Lower Umpqua), 306, 441. One informant told me that the last of the wa'lŭmskni, three old women, are still to be found at Siletz.

[15] My informants insisted this name was given because the Molala eat service berries. On the other hand one gave me as a Molala tale an incident in which the culture hero makes people of service berry bushes. One way or the other this looks like folk etymology. Their winter town was bŏ'ksabŏ'ks, a little below Prospect.

[16] *Op. cit.*, 2:217.

[17] See my Tribal Distribution in Southwestern Oregon.

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[facing p. 8] [A]

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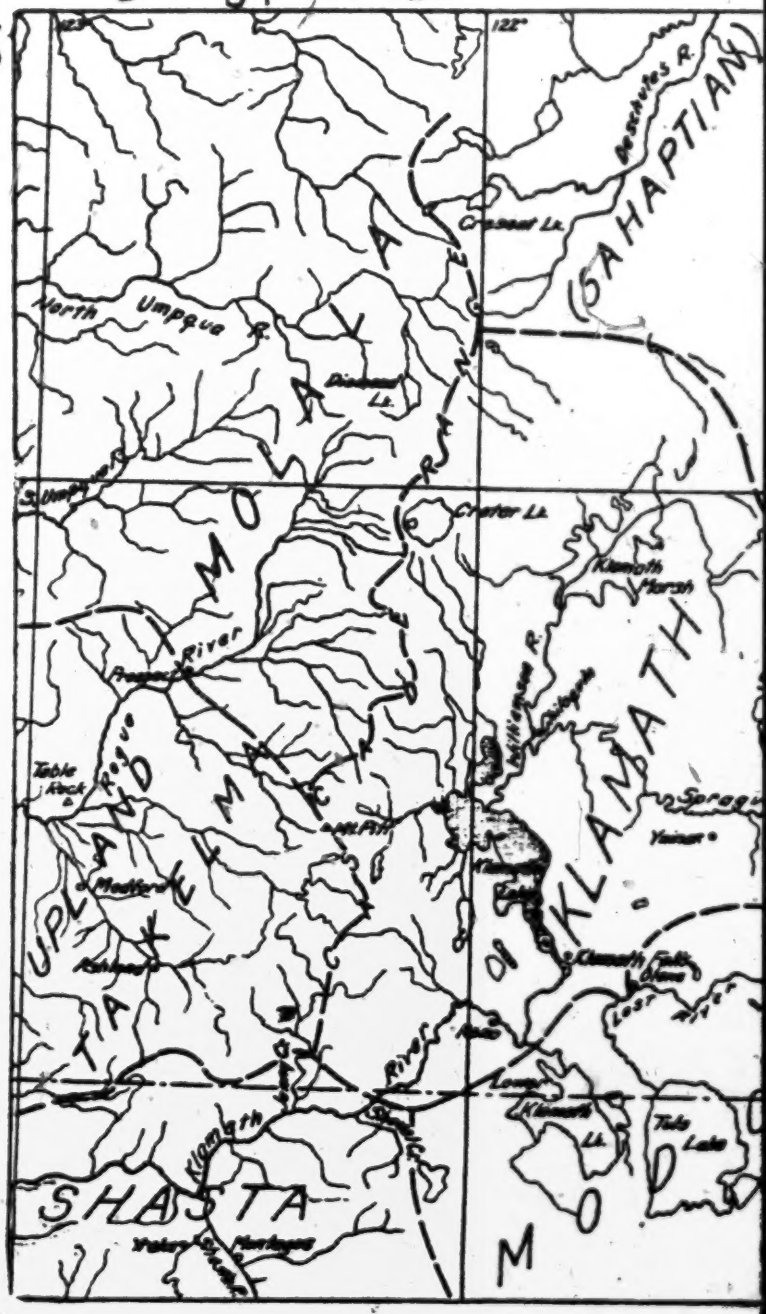

Fig. 1. Map of Klamath to

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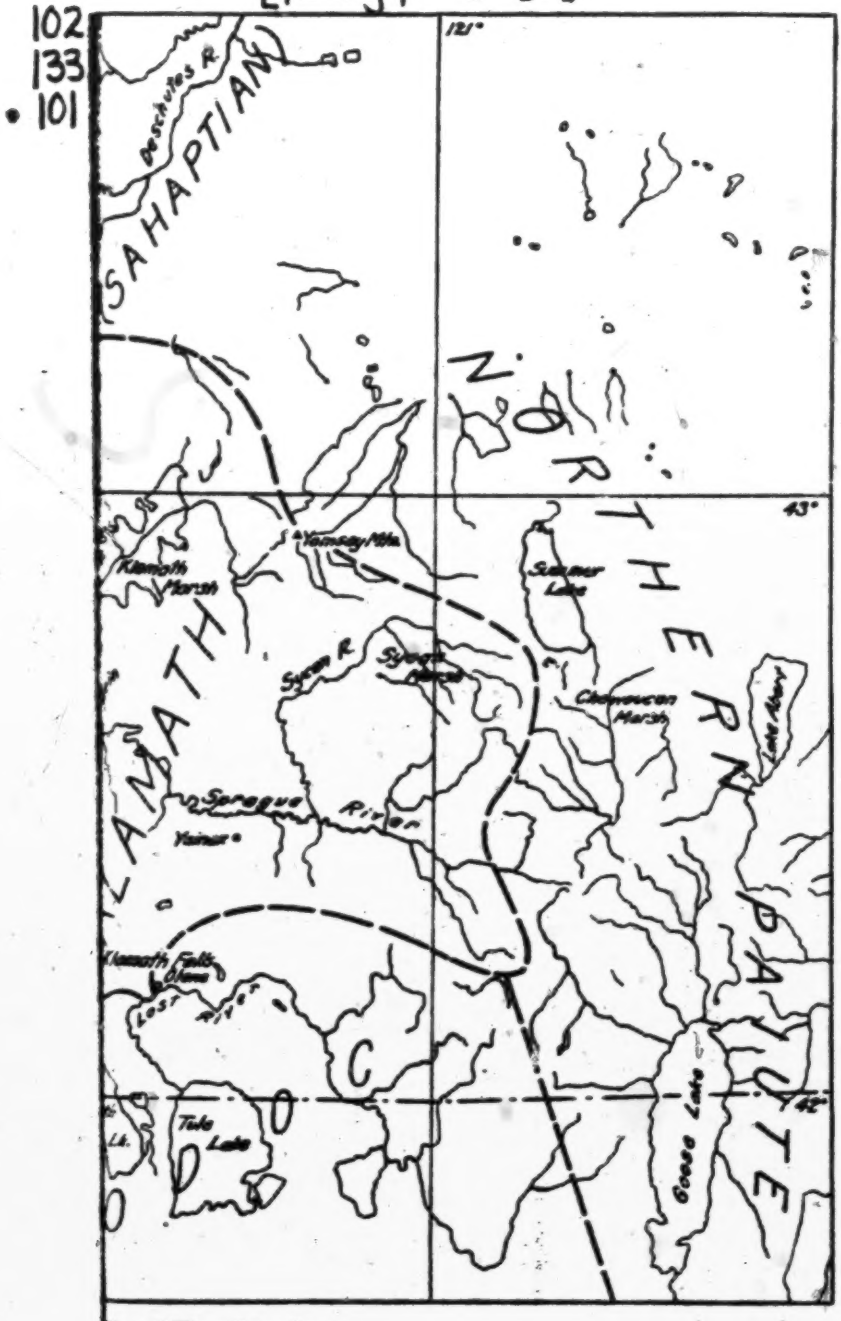
[facing p. 8] [B]



Map of Klamath territory.

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The western and southern limits of the range are easiest to define because of the topography and the proximity of other tribes. To the east and north the open deserts and broken country extend indefinitely. The nearest of the shifting settlements of Northern Paiute on the east at Goose and Summer lakes are sixty and more miles from Klamath lake. Those of the Warm Springs tribes are one hundred and fifty miles distant, more than halfway across Oregon. Teit's data show [175] that more than a century ago the neighbors of the Klamath in this direction were the Sahaptins at no great distance and beyond them Molala and Cayuse.

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The wide plain south of Klamath Falls seems to have been unoccupied. The Modoc lived south of the Lost River hills about Tule lake and on lower Klamath lake. My Klamath informant doubted that they lived on Miller lake, or had permanent settlements on Lost river. Both tribes congregated at one place only for the early spring fishing, namely on Lost river, a mile or more below the buttes at Olene. The [226] Klamath camp site is on the north bank, the Modoc on the south.

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The southern boundary of Klamath territory skirts the Klamath valley from this place as far downstream as Spencer creek, near the California-Oregon line, below the canyon of the Klamath. Below this on the river are the Shasta, whose northernmost outposts are on Shovel creek and north of the river on Jennie creek. The Klamath have no [226] settlements on the river, but fish, hunt, and gather roots at such points [224] as Keno, Spencer creek (ma'lbuk'is), and at laik'ĕlmi, five or six miles [222] upstream from Dorris (?).

The western boundary is the Cascade watershed, including, however, territory on the northwest side of Mount Pitt (Mount McLoughlin) and again southwest of Crater lake. The Klamath hunt northwest of this conspicuous mountain in a region of many streams called la'ndjli (possibly an American name). Fifteen miles southwest of Crater lake is Huckleberry mountain (iwumkă'ni, huckleberry place) where the Klamath meet the Molala similarly engaged in berry picking. The latter regularly occupy the highlands of the upper Rogue river drainage above Trail creek or some point below Prospect. These Molala form a southern extension of that tribe from the upper Umpqua drainage.

The northern and eastern boundaries are somewhat indefinite. Palmer stated:

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101 131 East of the Cascade mountains, and south of the 44th parallel, is a country not attached particularly to any agency. That portion at the eastern base of this range, extending twenty-five or thirty miles east, and south to the California line, is the country of the Klamath Indians.[26]

This is essentially correct although the boundary might better be set somewhat farther south to exclude the headwaters of the Deschutes, in earlier times the home of Sahaptin peoples. The country north of Klamath marsh is considered too open and cold for settlement. On the eastern border are a series of lakes (Silver, Summer, Abert, Goose) and rims which give on the desert to the east. There are Northern Paiute settlements on the eastern sides of Summer and Goose lakes, perhaps those of the Walpahpas mentioned by Meacham.

648 The meeting with the Klamath and Snakes was one of interest to all parties, from the fact that they had been enemies, and the chiefs had not met in person since peace was restored. Living in the country intervening [presumably Summer to Goose lakes] was a small tribe of Wal-pah-pas, who are half Snake and half Klamath. They were mediators, though sometimes fighting on alternate sides, as interest or affront gave occasion.[27]

101 131 221 Syean river, Syean marsh, and Yamsay mountain are summer resorts of the Klamath, who had their easternmost settlement (hledle-luĕ'luke) somewhere west of Gearhart mountain. Chewaucan marsh, between Summer and Abert lakes, was probably also visited, although I was not told so. Its name is Klamath, probably tcuwa'kăn, arrowhead place, derived from the abundance of arrowhead or wappatoo roots (tcuwa') gathered there.[28]

SETTLEMENTS

221 The occupation of this territory is determined by the manner of life. The fixed villages are the winter residences to which people return year after year. Early spring finds them leaving for favorable fishing stations where there are successive fish runs. Through the summer they move to the prairies to gather edible roots and berries or to the mountain and desert to hunt. During most of this time families are widely scattered and the winter villages quite deserted, but with the ripening of pond lily seeds in the marshes during August [262] and September they again congregate. The pond lilies grow in enormous quantities, the seeds (wo'kas) constituting a staple second only in importance to fish.

[26] Palmer in Report, Comm. Indian Affairs, 262, 1854.
[27] Meacham, Wigwam and War-path, 232.
[28] Coville, Notes, 90.

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through the rock, had only a narrow way between them to allow passage along the shore. On a point of rocks on the hill above stands a cremation pile. A hillock west of the bay is called lalau'ɬ!ŏt, flat, for the many flat rocks on top. The opposite point of the river mouth also has a settlement, called tc!a'tc!ŏmsi, for some unidentified bird.

57, wĕkă'ĕls, fallen tree, is a settlement of moderate size on the shore a mile west of the river mouth, now intersected by the road.

58, wut!ana'kŏks, a low gap, and 59, iup!a'tŏna, end place, are summer sites respectively at the ends of a little marsh (now drained) on the west side of the lake.

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60, woksa'lks, lily seed (wokas) picking place, is a summer camp on the north shore of Wokas marsh. When leaving in the fall it is customary to sink the canoes at the edge of the marsh, hide the grinding slabs in the juniper thicket, and pack by a regular trail to dĕ'ktcŏ,ks, whence they return to the winter villages.

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61, dĕ'ktcŏ,ks, netting place, is a camp site on the west shore of Klamath lake opposite Buck island. Midway between this site and the island is a favorite place for catching fish at night with a triangular scoop net. The point Skillet Handle is called iuwa"lɛ, end of a point, and a flat-topped mountain west of Wocus bay, seolŏpgis.

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62, sa'stĭtka'wals, Shasta stand on end, is Squaw point where a few Klamath falls people might be found in winter. There are holes in the rocks here in which they pound to make the wind blow, pounding in those on the south side, for instance, to bring a south wind.

TRIBAL SUBDIVISIONS

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The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or possibly five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct district, and practically autonomous. This is separatism of the familiar Californian order. Nevertheless, the cohesion rising from a common dialect, common culture, and a uniform reaction against all non-tribesmen, which on occasion leads to jointly taking the field against them, produces a tribal solidarity resembling that of the Plains people.

The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the modern name Klamath for the Klamath marsh—Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they

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101 619 occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of any sharp geographic division, rivers or ranges, such as we should expect to figure in political separatism. There are only three or four miles of open, unoccupied country between the middle Williamson river group and that at the river mouth, for instance, or between the latter and the northernmost outposts of the Klamath falls people about Modoc point. The cases of doubtful divisions really stress this point. Kowa'edi on the lake shore may belong with the middle Williamson division; though only three miles away over a low range of hills, it is somewhat isolated. Similarly the Sprague river settlements toward Yainax, usually included in the same group, are in quite a different district.

721 619 [171] The third feature pointing to their separatism is the frequent feuds between them. It is quite clear that these involve the tribelets; they never occur between the settlements of a single division. The point will be clearer if we contrast Yurok sentiments. There feuds are between the towns or with only a group of kinsmen within a town, and at most when several towns are involved in a joint cause, it appears rather that kinsmen and their friends have been drawn in.[84]

[567] Further, feuds are carried on much as warfare with foreigners; property is destroyed, women and children enslaved. Such slaves can be retained indefinitely or sold again. We may wonder however if they are not restored when a settlement is bought, or at most retained only to even the score in lives.

The identity of these groups resolves itself solely into such aspects of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for itself, others may join if they wish. At the other extreme, the towns [624] are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large part a body of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly extends to the Klamath as a whole.

115 197 184 Only one informant, Pat Kane, suggested dialectic and cultural differentiation. The dialect groupings he gave are purely geographic. He also assigned shamanistic tricks, medical practices, and games to the several divisions, which all other informants emphatically denied. I could observe no linguistic differences and Gatschet recorded none.

000 The subdivisions or tribelets are:

[84] Kroeber, Handbook, 49.

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The subdivisions or tribelets are:

I. ă'ukekni, the people of Klamath marsh and middle Williamson river, the Klamath proper. Evidently the Sprague river people are included here; there is some doubt, but I am even more doubtful whether there were settlements as far away on Sprague river as Yainax in pre-reservation times.

II. kowa'edikni, those of a village of that name on Agency lake. They may be ă'ukekni.

III. du'kwakni, on the delta of Williamson river. These are more closely affiliated with the Pelican bay people than with ă'ukekni.

IV. gu'mbŏtkni, those of Pelican bay and the marsh to the north.

V. iu"laloɣkni, the people of Klamath falls (Link river) and the eastern shore of Klamath lake.

The names are those of the districts they occupy with the suffix -kni, those of, people of: ă'ukei, Klamath marsh; du'kwa, the district about the mouth of Williamson river; gu'mbŏt, Pelican bay, possibly taking its name from Rocky point; iu"laloɣE, on the end, the village at the outlet of the lake into Link river.

It is now difficult to get a true estimate of the size of these groups. The ă'ukekni count twenty-nine or more settlements, half of the total; of the others iu"laloɣkni have thirteen, gu'mbŏtkni seven or more, du'kwakni five, and kowa'edikni, one. The towns vary considerably in size, yet this mere count agrees closely with the populational proportions as my several informants phrased them. The ă'ukekni are by far the largest group, perhaps as large as all the others together. Nancy Phillips recalls the large number of children who played together at gu'mbŏt, Pelican bay. At this place the settlements do form a large compact group. Next in order she places the du'kwa group, then those clustering about iu"laloɣE at Klamath falls, and goyɛmake'ɛgis on Williamson river. The settlements on Williamson river are small and scattered, but she places their joint population above the gu'mbŏtkni. The iu"laloɣkni were comparatively few despite their large territory. Of the ă'ukekni more lived at Klamath marsh even in winter than on Williamson river. The huge size of a single site, du"lkŭt, bears this out.

Consonant with their unequal size is it that the principal chief, at least in early reservation days, was the principal chief of the ă'ukekni; all others were distinctly subordinate in prestige. According to one informant, himself a du'kwa man, the ă'ukekni are the highest people. Kɛmŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero, made them first, best, and strongest; later he made the others.

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IV. THE KLAMATH AND WESTERN CULTURE

THE PLACE OF KLAMATH CULTURE

• 101 128 The place of the Klamath in western culture has been obscure and has, I think, been mistakenly appraised. In this section I have gone beyond the immediate task of defining it in order to build out on its northern border the synthesis of Californian cultures furnished by Kroeber.

101 114 Any attempt at placing the Klamath is rendered difficult by the paucity of information for large areas in the northwestern states. There is little enough on western Washington, but even less for the region east of the Cascade range, and practically nothing for the whole of Oregon. The southern Plateau is unknown save for the Nez Percé; its eastern section (Kutenai to Flathead) is another complete blank. Satisfactorily complete accounts now available can be numbered on the fingers: Gunther's Klallam, Haeberlin and Gunther's southern Puget Sound groups, Olson's manuscript notes on the Quinault, another manuscript on the Wishram by Sapir and the present writer, Teit's slight but highly suggestive notes on the Middle Columbia Salish, Spinden's Nez Percé, and the valuable collection of historical references gathered by Lewis. The situation is better for the Fraser river section of the Plateau, thanks to Teit's several accounts of the interior Salish. The stock of information on the Basin is slender and that for northern California none too voluminous. Nevertheless it seems possible to place the Klamath by a cautious use of these fragmentary data.

The present section will attempt to summarize the situation, with particular reference to material culture. The sections that follow analyze the shamanistic complex, social organization, and the girls' rites in greater detail.

* 171 101 The food habits of the Klamath, and in fact their general material culture, places them squarely with the Plateau peoples. They are as much a river people as the Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap, although the river in their instance is a minor stream (the Williamson river) and substituted in part by flooded marshes. As a river people, their primary foodstuff is fish; vegetal foods, water-lily seed, roots, and the like, form a considerable part of their provender, yet a lesser one.

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understanding of the place of the Klamath in western culture. Specific tribal reference is made in only a few instances; principally where it is necessary to define the distribution in the neighborhood of the Klamath somewhat more closely than the names of culture areas allow. It does not seem desirable to cite specific references beyond this, since my notes are far from exhaustive.

By far the majority of linkages are with the Plateau, particularly with its southern section. Northeastern and northwestern California are close seconds, but the general impression is that when details of specific form are emphasized, the relationship with the mountain tribes of northeastern California is much closer. The southern Northwest Coast, that is, largely western Washington, is a bad third, and, as is readily intelligible, central California and the Basin are culturally even more remote. Southern California and the Plains have only a third as many elements in common with the Klamath as have the Plateau peoples, and the Southwest very few. The total impression might be considerably modified if we knew more of Oregon cultures, but I do not believe this would change the verdict of basic resemblance to the Plateau.

House forms are Plateau, both earth-lodge and mat-lodge. Mat-covered lodges are widely used, but the specific type here, resembling the earth-lodge structure, is a localized type of the southern Plateau. Plains dress and hairdress have come in through the same region; the older fringed skirt is typical of the whole area west of the Rockies or at least west of the Cascades and Sierras. Of personal adornment, the basket hat and tattooing are Californian, frontal flattening is from the Northwest Coast by way of the Columbia. Fishing habits are those of the larger northwest: northern California, the Northwest Coast, and the Plateau as a whole. The shovel-nose canoe is characteristic of the southern half of the same area. The preponderant use of basketry and the almost complete absence of wooden utensils affiliate with California, the Basin, and Plateau, rather than with Northwest Coast. However the prevailing technique, twining, is that of the northern coast. The manifold use of mats again seems characteristic of the north. Cradles show a nice combination of the basketry sitting type of northwesterly California and the wooden flat forms of the Plateau. Arms and armor are northern: the round shield is a Plains feature, probably transferred across the Plateau.

Things less grossly material, such as games, affiliate in all directions. The Californian four-stick game is balanced by the eastern hand

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game; beaver-teeth dice are northwestern. Rattles are Californian, the hand drum and notched rasp, eastern. The ritual number five is known in a swathe of territory from Vancouver island to the Basin. The war or incitement dance links the Columbia river with northwestern California. More important is the practice of cremation which is partly followed in northeastern California and was, according to archaeological evidence, the earlier practice of the southern Plateau. This links the Plateau, northeastern and central California in one vast area which formerly at least was given to cremation.

Specifically local elements beyond those already noted, that is, those of northeastern California and the southern Plateau, are pipes of several forms, tule slippers and three-piece moccasins, perhaps the bundle form of ring-and-pin game, and the porcupine-tail comb; none of them more than superficial details.

There are a number of features characteristic of near-by culture areas, which in their distributions are quite within the range of influences impinging on the Klamath, and yet in which the Klamath do not share. Some of these are enumerated below. It must be understood that no attempt has been made to list all the items characteristic of each of the adjacent areas. The list includes only those features whose known distribution is close to the Klamath and which might have been expected among them.

It is rather surprising to find that the several methods of deer hunting, the seed beater, rabbit-skin blankets, and tubular pipes are not present among the Klamath. All would fit well into Klamath culture and their habitat imposes no difficulties. On the other hand, fishing stages are not needed on their relatively quiet streams choked with rocks and with low banks. Pulverizing of salmon may be absent because comparatively few salmon are taken, and possibly other dried fish do not crumble like the flakes of dried salmon. Cocoons from which rattles can be made probably do not occur in Klamath territory. Why the Klamath do not beat seeds directly from the bushes is not clear; they make considerable use of them but prefer to gather the plants whole and shake out the seeds. Similarly the absence of tubular pipes and the tanning frame is inexplicable. Parfleches are not manufactured but are traded from the Columbia. This explains the absence of their manufacture, for the tribes with whom they come in contact do not make them either. This is certain for the Wishram and undoubtedly so for Wasco; the Klickitat and Yakima make them but seldom;[417] all trading from the Nez Percé and their neighbors.

[417] Haeberlin *et al.*, Coiled Basketry, 357, 360.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

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The fashioning of utensils from wood may well have been inhibited by the development of basketry substitutes and the recency of direct contact with a woodworking culture on the Columbia.

Other features are perhaps too distant to suggest their imitation: the plank house and blanket weaving of the Northwest Coast, the tipi,

FEATURES OF ADJACENT AREAS NOT SHARED BY THE KLAMATH

Houses, plank	Coastal from N. Alaska to N.W. California (e.g., Shasta, Takelma, and Wishram).
tipi	S. (and N?) Plateau, N. and E. Basin, Plains, Mackenzie, N. Eastern Woodlands.
Dance-sweat-house	Central California.
Fishing stages	Northwest Coast to N.W. California, Plateau S. to Columbia river.
Fashioned salmon club	Northwest Coast to Columbia river.
Pulverized salmon	Plateau S. to Wishram (not Nez Percé) (links with Plains pemmican and Californian pounded-meat?).
Hunting, impounding	Nez Percé, Plateau?, Basin, N. Plains, Mackenzie?
deer snares	N.W. California, Takelma (Northwest Coast for mountain goat).
pits	N.E. California (and elsewhere?).
rabbit nets	Nez Percé, N.E. and S. California, Basin, W. Southwest.
Seed beater	California, Arizona, Basin, occasional in Plateau.
Canoe sails	Northwest Coast (aboriginal?).
Rabbit-skin blankets	California, Southwest, Basin, Oregon (Modoc, Wishram: not Klamath and Nez Percé), W. Plateau, Mackenzie.
Blanket weaving	Northwest Coast to Columbia river, W. Plateau.
Parfleche	S. Plateau, N. and E. Basin, E. Southwest, Plains.
Wood carving	Northwest Coast to Columbia river.
Ladles and spoons	Northwest Coast to Columbia river.
Tanning frame	Wishram, Plateau, Plains.
Toothed comb	Quinault, Twana, Nez Percé, Molala, Northern Maidu.
Trough cradle	Northwest Coast S. to Tillamook (links with N.W. California sitting type?).
Cocoon rattle	N.E. and central California.
Tubular pipe	Takelma, Wasco, Sahaptins at Celilo, Nez Percé; California, Southwest.
Tobacco cultivated	Yurok, Hupa, Wintun, Maidu, Takelma, Wishram?; Northwest Coast, S. California, Southwest and southward, Plains and eastward.
Names, inherited and received at puberty	Northwest Coast, Plateau S. to Columbia river.

even in its mat-covered form on the Plateau, the dance-sweat-lodge of central California. Yet even here some influence of these may be seen among the Klamath. Riven planks for earth-lodge timbers were derived from Shastan and lower Klamath river forms of the plank house. The central Californian dance lodge did indeed reach the Klamath as part of the Ghost dance of 1870, but too late to influence their culture before its disintegration.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Southeast Salish NR 19

K 262 171*

This is undoubtedly true equally of all the tribes lying in the Columbia drainage from the Rockies to the Cascades. It is known to be so of tribes as far apart as the Wishram and the Lower Kutenai,[115] and of others lying between, as the Middle Columbia Salish and the Nez Percé in their original condition.

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The Nez Percé case calls for explanation. The present culture of the Nez Percé is Plains-like. But there can be little doubt that much, if not the overwhelming part of the Plains traits among them, dates only from the introduction of horses into the Snake-Columbia basin, sometime between 1750 and 1800. With the horse came not only horse gear and all the elements of Plains nomadism, but the opportunity for buffalo hunting and trading on an extensive scale in the Plains. Many of the Snake-Columbia tribes began to make periodic visits beyond the Rockies from this time. Teit's account of the Middle Columbia Salish makes it quite clear that prior to the coming of the horse, typical Plateau culture, practically devoid of Plains elements, prevailed over the entire area. Even the picture of life among the Nez Percé and their neighbors presented to Lewis and Clark as late as 1804–6 was far more that of the Plateau at large than it is in our own day. The earlier situation is largely obscured by the fact that the Yakima and Klickitat in their eastern Washington location have many Plains-like features. Teit's investigations make it reasonably certain, however, that the situation prior to the end of the eighteenth century was quite different. At that time eastern Washington to south of the Columbia river was occupied by Salish tribes with typical Plateau culture. Subsequently the Yakima-Klickitat moved northward, probably from east central Oregon, to their historic habitat.[116] It seems reasonable to assume that up to that time they, like the Nez Percé, had little in the way of Plains culture.

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Even today the food habits of the Sahaptins are not those of the Plains. What I am suggesting here is that the balance of vegetal products and fish, now nearly even, rather favored fish in the days before hunting was so readily followed.

K 171* 177 178 262

So far as general habits of life go, the river culture of the Klamath links them also with the tribes on the lower reaches of the Klamath river. But their food habits do not quite coincide. Yurok, Hupa, and Shasta all make a larger use of acorns than of fish, although observers

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[115] Chamberlain, Kootenay, 183.

[116] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish; a map showing the early distribution is included in Haeberlin, *et al.*, Coiled Basketry in British Columbia.

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1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

Taken as a whole Klamath material culture is of Plateau type with strong leanings toward northeastern California. But their social and religious culture has a different aspect. While basically of the extremely simple Basin-Plateau type, social habits reflect the Northwest Coast, religious ones rather those of northern California and western Oregon. 171* 101 • 105

The basis of Klamath religious experience is that of the northern interior, the Basin, and the Northwest Coast, in distinction to California and the Southwest. The experience is deliberately sought and the power obtained is of a generalized, unspecialized nature. In this they resemble as well the generality of North Americans. Even their spirits are of the sort universal east of the Pacific coast. Specific Northwest Coast influence appears in the circumscription of general spirit repossession to the midwinter month. On the other hand, the shaman novice's inaugural dance, which gives at least as much color to Klamath shamanism, is characteristic of northern California and western Oregon. The Klamath form of it is, rather, Oregonian. Details of shamanism, on the other hand, link more firmly with northern, especially northeastern, California. 171* 771

Social organization is extremely simple, and it is quite patent that as late as the end of the eighteenth century, it resembled that of the Basin and Plateau in every particular. Even now social stratification is only weakly developed. Chiefs were only recently set off from the mass, their functions vague and their influence slight. At the very moment that Klamath society began to break down with the coming of the whites, they first imported from the Columbia river judicial functions for the chiefs. Chiefs are the wealthiest individuals, but they are not chiefs because they are wealthy. Their selection is still based on principles of personal ability. The basis of this differentiation, wealth, came from the same direction, but the accompanying principle of the Northwest Coast, caste stratification, never reached here; nor did the chief's adjunct, a speaker or advocate, although this functionary is known in the Plateau and Basin as well as in the Northwest. At the other end of the scale, slavery is apparently an old institution, but was of little importance until wealth began to figure among them. The Northwest Coast concept of status based on wealth appears again in marriage, here regularly by purchase. But social estimation did not rest on the amount paid, which was in fact very little. With so slight an emphasis on rank and wealth, those northwestern corollaries, local exogamy to maintain the one and the family compact following 171* 171* 177 622 171* 567 171* 556 584

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

177 At least one minor element, assigned by tradition to this period,
535 was derived from another direction; the notched rattle used in war
534 and scalp dances in imitation of the Upland Takelma.

Direct contact was opened with the Upper Chinook at the Dalles
174 only after 1800. By this time Snake raids had dispossessed the
Sahaptins of central eastern Oregon, driven them north of the
648 Columbia, and cleared the south bank of that stream by scattering
Cayuse-Molala east and west. Direct contact quite across Oregon
brought the Klamath in touch with the great trading center at the
Dalles and revealed to them the superior and stimulating cultures of
the Chinookan tribes and the semi-Plains groups from above on the
Columbia.

174 The whole rise of the chiefs, the growth of social stratification
177 based on wealth, the concern with slave-holding, all seem to date from
this time. Wealth began to be considerable: its form was new: horses
[556] and slaves. Chiefs grew in wealth and prominence over shamans.
[622] The basis of their selection changed in some degree from war to wealth.
[721] Slave-raiding to the south increased in frequency: the booty was
carried to Warm Springs and the Dalles.

[567] It is doubtful if the material differences in wealth and slave-
holding existed prior to 1800. Shamans were dominant over chiefs
174 and were but slightly more wealthy than the majority. The historic
177 tribal subdivisions were in existence, the village groups and their dis-
tribution established, and the basic social relations, as reflected in kin-
[756] ship terminology for example, much as we know them. Marriage may
[622] well have been by purchase, but possibly without the pseudo-potlatch
[619] custom of reciprocal visiting. Material culture was prevailingly
southern Plateau in aspect, and religious practices, while more north
[583] Californian, had already some impress of the Northwest Coast.

Is there a Lutuamian culture province? I am doubtful. Kroeber
101 has somewhat hesitatingly posited one, set off by a certain distinctive-
105 ness from that phrasing of Northwest Coast culture found localized on
the lower Klamath river, and favoring rather the Basin and Plateau,
to which the Klamath country lies open.

114 "The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the
Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals
some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are
obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some north-
western influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture
is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

Plateau admixture. Since the introduction of the horse, the Lutuami mode of life has evidently been modified analogously to that of the Plateau peoples of the Columbia, although less profoundly; and with the horse came a number of cultural elements from the Plateau, or even from the Plains; of which some went on to the Shasta and Achomawi. This recent modification appears to have given Lutuami culture a more un-Californian aspect than it originally possessed. Neither the Kalapuya nor the Klamath-Modoc were a numerous enough people to have possessed a truly distinctive civilization. The Kalapuya are gone, but nearly a thousand Lutuami remain, and as soon as their society and religion are seriously inquired into, their precise cultural affiliations will no doubt become clear."[439]

The fidelity of this characterization to the situation as it is now known is considerable, but the scantiness of information has permitted the supposition that the local culture is sufficiently distinctive to be given the dignity of a separate subprovince.

The impression is that Kroeber has been led astray by the paucity and false balance of the materials on which he had to rely. Barrett's Material Culture of the Klamath does indeed present a picture of a culture in which the use of tule is accentuated. The predominant rôle given to wokas, the water-lily seed, is a readily intelligible inference from Coville's detailed description of the specialized technique of its preparation. The brief and disjointed texts recorded by Gatschet allow only a puzzling insight into Klamath religious life. At the same time the true character of the southern Plateau, or at least the picture of several generations ago, is obscured by the half-Plains-like culture established for the Nez Percé by Spinden.

Klamath technology is emphatically not one based on tule, with the limitations or suggestions of form it imposes. Nothing is clearer than that tule was in almost every case a substitute for more desirable material. Basketry techniques and forms are one with those of the Basin and northern California, and, we might hazard, the Plateau, despite the frequent use of this substitute material. Barrett's paper, which allows the inference of a developed tule industry basic in their material culture, is strictly speaking not an exposition of their material culture at all, but a description of a collection of objects, which in his day had already degenerated to the use of convenient substitute material. What further inference may rest on the Klamath occupation of a tule marsh is false. Klamath culture is not a marsh culture, but one of a river people. The norm of Klamath material culture is

[439] Kroeber, California Culture Provinces, 163; Handbook, 334–35.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

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seen in their river home, not in the marsh which occupies a distinctly secondary place in their life.

Correspondingly, while the place of wokas and the intricacies of its preparation are impressive, it must be recognized that their staple food is fish. There can be no doubt of this. They are far more a fish-using people than those on the lower Klamath. And in this they link without question with the Plateau people. The use of wokas does indeed distinguish them from others of the area, but we recognize that this is no more than the utilization of a local food source readily available and abundant, quite in harmony with the tendency in the whole area to emphasize one or another seed supply as the environment dictates.

It must now be apparent that Gatschet's textual material presents the peculiarities of Klamath phrasing of things religious without adequate explanation of their oneness with the Plateau and northeastern California. There is little that he gives besides the songs, but their abundance and their nature can be duplicated among the Wishram and, I believe, were they known, among the Nez Percé and Achomawi. I am not in a position to say how far their mythology is peculiar.

Teit's paper on the Middle Columbia Salish makes it clear that Plains elements in this area are not older than the end of the eighteenth century. Prior to that southern Plateau characteristics prevailed with fair uniformity among the Upper Chinook of the Dalles, the Interior Salish of eastern Washington, and, we infer, the Waiilatpuan and Sahaptins of eastern Oregon and central Idaho. Such Plains characteristics as the Klamath display are demonstrably late and they are themselves aware that much of Northwest Coast practice came to them only after the opening of direct contact with the Columbia tribes barely a hundred years ago.

The final placing of Klamath culture is, perhaps, with the Modoc, as the southernmost outpost of Plateau life. Kroeber's supposition of a distinctive subprovince is excusable in the light of the misleading character of the available descriptions and the absence of Teit's epoch-making contribution. We do not yet know much of the southern Plateau but it does not seem likely that this perspective will be seriously disturbed.[421]

[421] Now that a Lutuamian culture province fades away, we may hope to see an end to that barbarism, the word Lutuami, itself. No Klamath or Modoc would recognize it, and should it prove that Klamath-Modoc, Molala-Cayuse, and Sahaptin form a single linguistic group, as has been suggested, we may hope to hear the last of it.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

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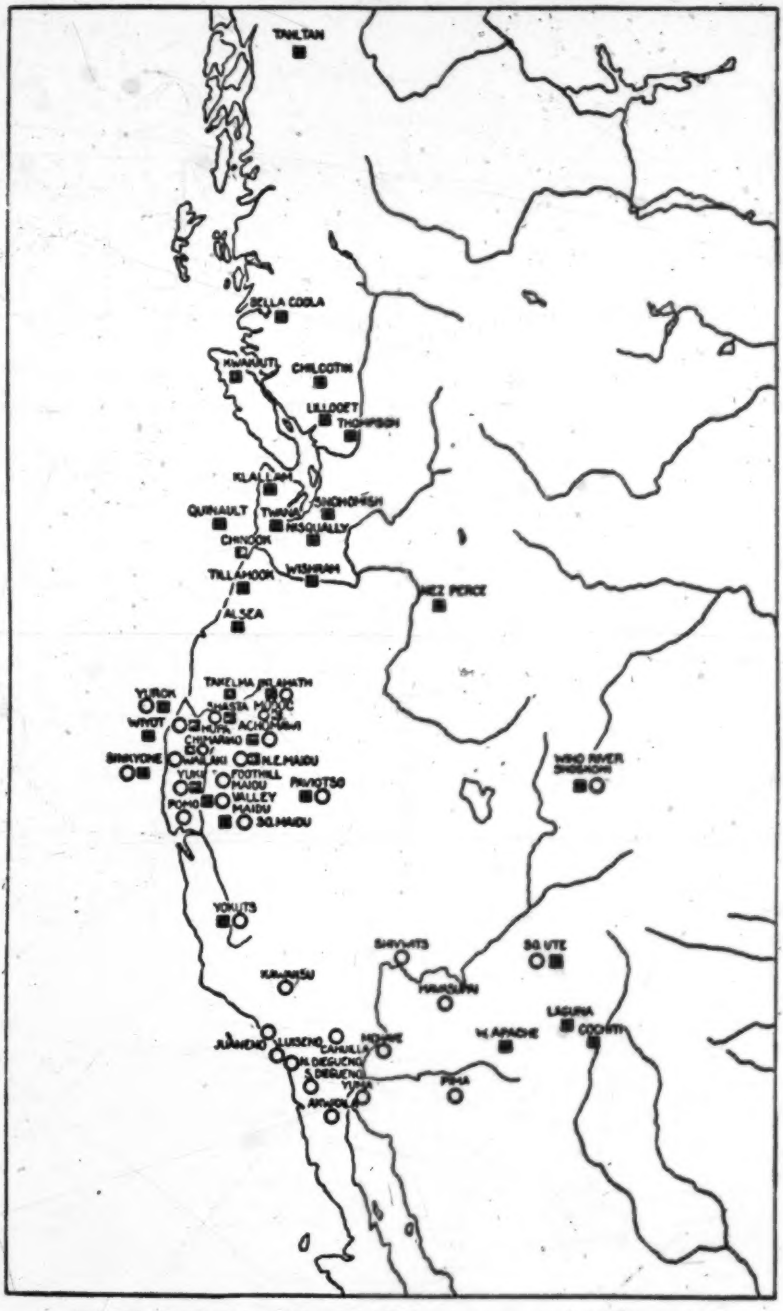

Fig. 22. Distribution of the quest and dream as sources of spirit power in western North America. Squares indicate the quest; circles, the dream.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

*171 567 southward of the Klamath there was no slavery; this is certain for Northern and Southern Maidu,[881] and very probably Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Northern Paiute. This seems generally true of California with the exception of the northwest (Yurok and probably their neighbors), where there was debt slavery, but where slaves were not measurable articles of wealth.

Summary

• 101 105 174 The general position of the Klamath in relation to surrounding tribes was in earlier days the simple social structure of the Basin peoples. Since the opening of the last century they have borrowed from the Columbia tribes some sense of social stratification based on wealth, slave-holding, and trading, enhanced importance for their chiefs coincident with a change in the basis of selection from war to wealth, and quite recently judicial functions for the chiefs. There was thus a shift in social dominance from shaman to chief.

GIRLS' PUBERTY RITES AND WOMEN'S OBSERVANCES

*171 562 881 787 It is characteristic of western America that adolescence ceremonies were held for girls rather than boys. This is not to ignore the wide extension of the guardian spirit quest, more regularly performed by boys than girls, nor the boys' initiation ceremonies of southern California and the Southwest, but the boys' activities were less commonly ritualized save in the southwestern sector. The boys' quest among the Klamath has been discussed in connection with shamanism.

*171 841 The girls' rites in the west can best be understood with reference to a background of women's observances throughout the continent. Certain features of women's behavior had a well-nigh universal distribution. The general conception was that woman during her periodical illnesses was a source of contamination to others or a peril to herself. A series of restrictions ensued; she was secluded or her movements restricted during the period. For her own well-being she must fast or at least refrain from fresh meat or fish, but the latter proscription was also rationalized as avoiding damage to the food supply, especially fishing. She must not touch hands to face or hair, using instead a scratching stick, must not wash nor arrange her hair, and must dispose of her garments before resuming her normal life.

[880] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, esp. 122.

[881] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 306; Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 44.

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PREFACE

The following comparative ethnographic study of fifteen northeastern California groups and one group in southern Oregon is based on approximately three and one-half months' field work (July-October, 1936), undertaken while serving as Research Assistant in the Department of Anthropology at the University of California. During the six months' period which the appointment covered I incurred numerous obligations for assistance.

000 To Dr. A. L. Kroeber, director of the culture-element survey, I am indebted for much sound advice, never-failing coöperation, and many courtesies extended throughout the term of appointment. To Professor E. W. Gifford, Dr. Robert H. Lowie, and Dr. Harold E. Driver I am likewise under obligations for their coöperation and numerous courtesies.

I also wish to thank those authors who have written the detailed and pioneer monographs on many of the groups covered in this study; these include Drs. Leslie Spier, A. L. Kroeber, Ralph L. Beals, Isabel T. Kelly, Cora Du Bois, Edwin M. Loeb, and Mr. E. W. Gifford. Many of these authorities, and also the late Professor Edward Sapir, of Yale, supplied the names of reliable informants for the groups I was to study, and otherwise oriented me concerning field conditions. To all these scholars I am greatly indebted, both for their personal coöperation and for their valuable publications on various tribes in or near the area surveyed. Since I worked with both the Shasta and the Maidu, it is almost needless to mention how often I leaned on the late Dr. Roland B. Dixon's ethnographic studies of these two tribes, and how delighted I was to obtain western Shasta data from Sargent Sambo whom some thirty years before, had been Dr. Dixon's chief informant.

114 The difficulties of living on an extremely mobile field trip were lightened by virtue of having with me three interested companions. My husband, Dr. C. F. Voegelin, and our daughter, Gail, spent July and August in the field. To Dr. Voegelin I am deeply grateful for frequent linguistic aid and for encouragement in the pursuit of a new ethnographic field technique. To Gail, and likewise to my father, Mr. Roscoe Wheeler, who proved an ever-cheerful companion during the latter half of the trip, I wish to express a happy appreciation of their comradeship and their responsiveness to informants and informants' families.

115 Many kindnesses were extended to me during field work. Mrs. John Perry and her late husband, of Greenville, offered the hospitality of their home and were helpful in suggesting suitable informants. Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Barton, of Horse Creek, temporarily released Sargent Sambo from their employ so that I might work with him. Mrs. Lucy Thomson, my informant for the Southern Nisenan, had my father and me as guests in her home during our stay at Stanfield Hill. Mrs. Winnie Shiffbauer, Modoc; Ben Bridge, Achomawi informant, and his wife; and Mrs. Amanda Wilson, Valley Maidu informant, were likewise generous in hospitality. The interest and cooperative spirit I met with among these and many others of my informants puts me under a debt which cannot easily be acknowledged, but which will always be a pleasure to recall.

122 Assistance in the preparation of field material for publication was furnished by the personnel of Works Projects Administration Official Project No. 665-08-3-30, Unit A-15.

NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Marsh

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Map 1. Area surveyed and localities to which cultural data from the several tribal groups refer.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

the eruption of Mount Mazama created Crater Lake and strewed its pumice in thick beds over the countryside, some 6,500 years ago, they had long been in occupation.[3]

Here, with the passage of time, the peoples later to receive the names of Klamath and Modoc began to take on their present way of life. Their cultural position was at once peripheral and strategic, for they lay at the boundaries of the emergent cultural provinces of the Great Basin, the Plateau, and California, and though they stemmed fundamentally from the Great Basin, they were also subject to influences flowing from California and the Plateau. Consistent with their relative geographical position and ecological resources, the Modoc diverged toward California and the Klamath toward the Plateau; and when in turn the influences of the North Pacific Coast—extending from southern Alaska to northern California—reached them, it was again the Klamath who were somewhat more receptive. Despite their differences, the two peoples retained a substantial common base: they spoke dialects of the same language and felt their political separation to have been a recent event.[4]

Indeed, the linguistic evidence is consonant with a long autochthonous development within this region. Klamath-Modoc finds its closest linguistic congeners within the Plateau, in Cayuse, Molala, and the northern Sahaptin Tenino, Klickitat, Yakima, Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Nez Percé. Taken together, these languages are seen as more distantly related to others spoken in Western Oregon and in the Sacramento-San Joaquin drainage of California, and like them are assigned to the Penutian phylum.[5] (See Map of Tribal Distribution in Oregon.)

For the Klamath, the dominant features of their landscape were the marshes and streams, with their rich resources of fish, mussels, and waterfowl. Their winter settlements, fringing the shores in settled places, were located where fish could be caught most of the year, clustered densely upon Klamath Marsh and the eastern shore of Agency and Upper Klamath lakes, extending down to Link River. They lay as well upon the Williamson River which runs in a bow some sixty miles, passing through the Marsh to empty into Upper Klamath Lake, and upon its eastern tributary, the Sprague. In their more open country to the south, the Modoc were less favored and less open to influences from fishing peoples,

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

and they tended to retain a greater concern with hunting, a condition which archeology tells us was characteristic of the early Klamath, but which the latter came somewhat to relinquish with their concentration upon the product of the waters. Likewise, the Modoc seem to have placed a somewhat greater premium upon the gathering of wild seeds, in a typically Basin-California manner. Nonetheless, fishing was by no means neglected, and their villages lay principally about Lower Klamath, Tule, and Clear lakes, as well as upon Lost River which roughly parallels the Sprague in its westward course, until it bends south to empty its waters into Tule Lake.

Protected by relatively inhospitable land to the north, by broken hills to the east and south, and by the Cascades on the west, the Klamath-Modoc homeland fostered a culture somewhat provincial in character, owing to its remoteness from major centers of development, yet distinctive in style. Neither people occupied, for any distance, the Klamath River, which drains the Klamath Lakes and falls through its canyon to the Pacific; and neither seems to have been directly affected by the culture that emerged along its lower reaches among the Yurok, Karok, and Hupa.

Favored though they were by contrast to the Great Basin, the Klamath uplands did not support a large aboriginal population. The Klamath and Modoc together have variously been estimated to have totaled between twelve hundred and two thousand, the Klamath having about double the numbers of their southern kinsmen. Population densities provide a further perspective. Those for the Shasta immediately to the southwest and for the Oregon Coast were roughly ten times as great as that of the Klamath-Modoc. The Kalapuya of the Willamette Valley and the Takelma of the Upper Rogue furnished figures about twice as great, and the Achomawi and Atsugewi of the Pit River drainage south of the Modoc had densities four times the value for our tribes. Within the Plateau, the Sahaptin-speaking peoples of the middle Columbia and the Blue Mountains approximated their figure. In the Great Basin and the Southern Plateau, the Shoshonean Bannock, Northern Paiute, and Shoshone provided figures only one quarter as great. If the figure is taken to reflect the intensity of land use, the Klamath Basin was on a par with the

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

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[P. 22]

The Frontier Condition

726 FOR MANY YEARS THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WILLAMETTE AND CO-
648 lumbia valleys bypassed the tribes of the Klamath Basin.[1] In-
175 directly, however, they felt the first remote influences, as the Sahaptin-speaking tribes of the middle Columbia, equipped with the superior weapons of the trading posts and mounted on horses acquired from the Shoshonean bands to the south, began to raid up the Deschutes Valley to take Klamath slaves.[2] The Klamath
[231] were at a disadvantage: in 1826 Peter Skene Ogden, of the
[411] Hudson's Bay Company, found them with but a single horse and uneasily awaiting raids by joint parties of Cayuse and Nez Percés; and even by midcentury they had only one firearm among them.[3] The scantiness of the local beaver made their territory of little interest to the company, however, and they came to enjoy a reputation as fierce warriors which preserved them for some time from settlers. Nonetheless, they were known even
[101] then to the tribes of the Columbia, for Ogden applied to them a name, "Clammite," that was not their own and seems to stem from Chinookan.[4]

648 Some ten years after Ogden passed through, a party of French-
175 Canadian trappers made their way into the region and on their return to The Dalles took along some Klamath.[5] From that time on, contact with the tribes at that great Indian trading center increased. Klamath parties moved down the Deschutes Valley, making their way either to The Dalles itself, or branching westward down the north fork of the Santiam along what came to be known as the Klamath Trail, through the settlement of the northern Molala, thence to the Kalapuya on the outskirts of
648 Oregon City. There, in 1843, one missionary recorded the visit
567 of "a large party of the Clamath tribe, fierce and warlike . . .
439 with about twenty slaves, [who] sold most or all of them. Some,
435 I was informed, were sold for three horses each,
175 some cheaper."[6]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

*657 *648 692

> A large number of Indian offences come before this Court for trial, consisting mainly of family quarrels, disputes about the ownership of property and acts of licentiousness.[88]

With the accidental death of Crain, Jesse Kirk was appointed in his stead.[89]

Thus, within a generation the administration had replaced the popular leaders with those among them who were Agency employees, and in turn had supplanted them with the products of its schools. Legally constituted authority was administered through the Agency, at first through a customary court of chiefs and later through a Court of Indian Offenses. The Indian police, who took their orders directly from the Agent, were satisfactory to him as the instrument of his hand. Not so the courts, which tended instead to constitute seats of power alternative to that of the Agent. The result was to be that Agents tended to strengthen the police while circumscribing the functions of the courts. [625]

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Meanwhile, beyond the administrative structure thrived an unacknowledged informal leadership, based as in former days upon wealth and accomplishment. Unlike that of the Agency, it was not restricted in position nor limited narrowly in function. This was a leadership in which employees could also participate; and it was presently to see such diverse men as the old chiefs, Monchnkasgitk, Henry Blow, and Allen David, make cause with Dave Hill, and he with young Jesse Kirk, and he in turn with Jeff Riddle, son of Frank Riddle and Winema, the heroine of the Modoc War, and with Henry Jackson, the wealthy exslave. In this sense at least E. L. Applegate was right when he observed:

[179] [178] [101]

> The tribal distinction among the Indians on this Reservation is practically disregarded by the Indians, and the ancient prejudices are rapidly fading away. The general name of Klamath People seems to be superseding all other distinctions.[90]

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

[P.299]

Adapted from "Indian Tribes and Languages of the Old Oregon Country" (Portland, Ore.: Oregon Historical Society, 1958). Data compiled by Claude Schaeffer. (Used by permission of the Oregon Historical Society.)

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3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10 •
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

[P. 280]

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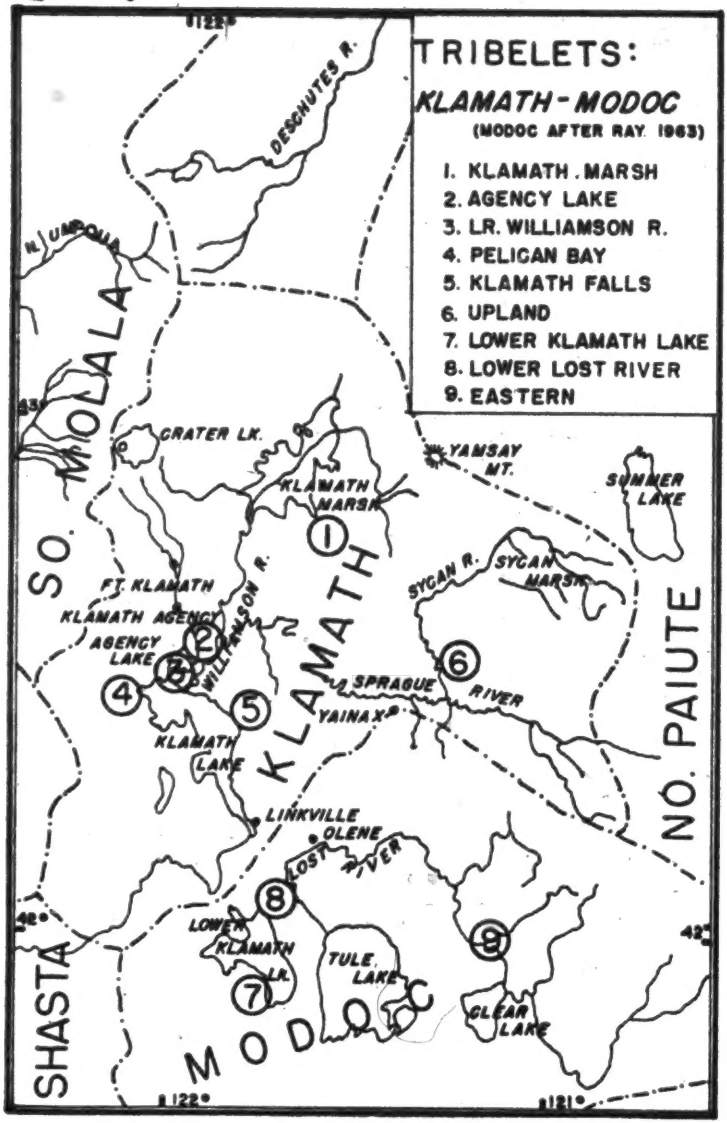

The northern corridor should be understood to extend to 44° N. The Modoc area extends in the southwest to the base of Mount Shasta, not shown on the map. Based for the Klamath on Spier, 1930, and for the Modoc on Ray, 1963.

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10 •
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Notes

[P.283]

ONE. THE ABORIGINAL KLAMATH-MODOC

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1. "Nolis Gaeni" (The Afterworld), narrated in Klamath by Lula Lang. Stern (1962), p. 112, original footnotes omitted.

2. There is now mounting evidence, even from the Northwest itself, suggesting that man may have been in western America for perhaps three times as great a period.

3. Cressman (1956), pp. 470, 463 ff. This work is the principal source for the archeological summary. It may be remarked that Clark (1953), pp. 53-55, records a Klamath legend of what purports to be this eruption.

4. The cultural position of the Klamath-Modoc has been variously assessed. Kroeber (1925), pp. 334-35, initially saw their position as essentially Californian; later (1939), p. 51, he removed the Northeastern Californian segment, including those tribes and the Achomawi-Atsugewi, to the Great Basin. Spier (1930), p. 233, saw Klamath material culture of Plateau type, with strong leanings toward northeastern California, their social system as of Northwest Coast, and their religious institutions of Northern California-Western Oregon, form. In his view, the Modoc inclined somewhat more toward California. Driver and Massey (1957), Map 2, place both peoples in the Plateau.

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Ray alone has seen the differences between the two peoples as so great as to justify passing the California-Plateau boundary between them. Thus (1939), p. 148, he treats the Klamath as the southernmost of the tribes of the American Plateau, although one that exhibits variations stemming from California and the Basin; and again (1963), pp. v, xii, while conceding that the Modoc are highly divergent from the tribes of California, asserts that the Modoc "shared fewer culturally diagnostic traits with the Klamath than they did with the Achomawi." The latter statement seems at odds with the culture element survey of Wheeler-Voegelin (1942), p. 250, and remains to be sustained. Nonetheless, Ray has performed a useful service in correcting the view that Modoc culture was merely an offshoot of that of the already specialized Klamath.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR10 Klamath NR10
Modoc NS17

situated about upper Klamath Lake and in the mountains to the east; except for a part of the Modoc in Oklahoma. It is the object of the present paper to discuss briefly the conditions of aboriginal life among these people, due consideration being given their natural environment and the influence of surrounding peoples upon them.

TERRITORY.

The territory occupied by the Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians lies chiefly in the drainage basins of Upper and Lower Klamath lakes and Tule or Rhett lake. From a point near the confluence of Keen creek with Klamath river the western boundary of their territory probably extended along the watershed separating the Klamath lake and Rogue river drainages, to the foothills of the mountain in which Crater lake is situated. It should be noted, however, that the Klamath, while they feared Crater lake, did go upon certain occasions to the lake and seem not to have been molested there by other Indians. It would seem that the lake was looked upon as a sort of territory of mutual rights by the peoples in its vicinity. They visited it when they desired to acquire great merit in hunting or other pursuits in which supernatural power was necessary. To go and bathe in this wonderful lake was a brave thing to do, and made a man lucky for hunting or other similar pursuits and made him very strong for war. It would appear that the relations formerly existing between the Klamath and the people of the Rogue river drainage were not at all friendly, so that the Klamath seldom ventured as far west as the crest of the range. They did on occasion make up large parties and go up to the crest of the range for the purpose of hunting, but small parties rarely ventured so far. The region for some distance to the west and northwest of Crater lake was also visited by the Klamath for the purpose of gathering berries in season.

On the north the boundary extended as far as to the headwaters of Deschutes river, thus including the whole drainage basin of Klamath marsh.[1] On the east the boundary probably

[1] The Bureau of Ethnology's map in Bulletin 30 gives to the Lutuami territory as far north in the Deschutes drainage as latitude 44. See also volume I of this Bulletin, 779, 1907.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
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extended far enough to include the drainage into Sycan marsh, and thence on toward the south, passing several miles east of the town of Bly and including the whole of the Sprague river drainage.[2] The southern part of the eastern boundary probably passed somewhat east of Clear lake and around the head of Lost river. The southern boundary was probably the divide between the drainage of Klamath and Rhett lakes and that of Pitt river.

The Lutuami[3] are divided into two slightly different dialectic divisions: the Klamath Lake, usually known simply as Klamath, occupying a comparatively large territory about Upper Klamath lake, the northern part of Lower Klamath lake, Klamath marsh, and the region to the east; and the Modoc, occupying the region about Rhett lake and the southern end of Lower Klamath lake. One informant mentioned a third dialect, which he said was spoken by the people formerly living on Link river and about Linkville or what is now known as Klamath Falls. In view of the slight lexical differences between the Klamath and Modoc dialects, it seems very probable that if a third linguistic division did exist it was inconsiderable and not more than a sub-dialectic variation. At any rate the only linguistic units recognized by the people themselves are the two dialects spoken by the Klamath and the Modoc. The fact that the two divisions speak slightly differently, does not seem to appeal to the people themselves so much as the fact that they were in former times politically disunited, and were in fact, upon certain occasions at least, at war.

As nearly as could be determined the boundary between the Klamath and Modoc territories extended through the northern

[2] This is the boundary generally claimed by the Klamath. One Paiute informant, however, claimed that the territory of his people extended as far west as Yam Say peak and the Black hills, thus including Sycan marsh in the Paiute country. Like Klamath informants he stated that the boundary passed a few miles east of Bly.

[3] Gatschet, Contrib. N. A. Ethn., II, gives Lutuami as meaning lake, *i.e.*, Tule lake, in the Achomawi or Pit River language. The people have no name for themselves other than maklaks, person, Indian. Maklaks is possibly the source of our word Klamath, the origin of which is unknown. The Klamath Lake people are called in their own language Eukshikni maklaks or Eukshni maklaks, at the lake people, from Eukshi, which denotes specifically Klamath marsh, but also the adjoining country, including the eastern shore of Upper Klamath lake. Eukshi appears to be derived from eush, lake. The Modoc are called Moatokni maklaks or Modokni maklaks, in the south people, from moatak, Tule lake. Moatak is a derivative from muat, south.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
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end of Horse Fly valley and Lockey Flat, passing in the vicinity of Keno Spring, and thence westward through, or in the vicinity of, the village of Dairy. It passed a short distance north of Bale's lake and Olene and appears to have left the whole of Lost River valley in the territory of the Modoc. It passed either along the eastern shore of, or through, Lower Klamath lake. Further than this no definite information was obtained concerning this secondary boundary.

ENVIRONMENT.

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The natural environment of the Lutuami, a high, mountainous and volcanic region, filled with lakes and marshes, influenced their culture in many ways. The two lakes, Upper Klamath and Tule or Rhett lake, formed the centers of population for the two divisions, the Klamath and the Modoc. Along the western shore of these lakes, and of Lower Klamath lake, as well as along the high plateau to the east of Upper Klamath lake, there were considerable forests of conifers which provided material for canoes and houses as well as a part of the food supply. In fact the whole western portion of the territory is well forested. The eastern part, however, notably about Yainax agency and eastward, is to a great extent a semi-desert, sage-brush country. In this eastern region there are many fertile valleys, as for instance, along Sprague and Sycan rivers, but on the whole the territory is by no means so desirable for habitation as that about Upper Klamath lake and Klamath marsh, where the soil is very rich and productive. The old fault line in which Upper and Lower Klamath lakes and Klamath marsh are situated has existed so long that a large area has silted in and formed a very fertile country, which provided in aboriginal times an abundance of various tubers, seeds, and other vegetable foods. Among the most important natural features of this region are the great tracts of marshy land. These marshes are covered constantly with water from a few inches to several feet in depth. In these, particularly in Klamath marsh, is found the staple article of food among the Klamath, and to a certain extent also among the Modoc, the yellow water-lily, *Nymphia polysepala*. Large areas of marsh are completely covered with this water-lily to the ex-

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

fish basket, and one or two others. Twining is the only technique used, all coiled baskets coming from this region being extraneous to the true native culture. The majority of the conical burden baskets made of willow or hazel which are in use among the Klamath are made by themselves, though they do purchase from the Shasta to the southwest a burden basket which is more nicely finished than their own.

Together with this very specialized tule culture, resulting from the life of the people upon the immediate lake shore, go water foods, particularly wokas and fish, and the special implements devoted to the gathering of the wokas and to the capture of various animals, birds, and fish. Such for instance are the peculiar duck arrow, the large dip-net, the net used at night in connection with a light in the canoe for catching ducks and other water birds, the many-pointed fish spear, the two forms of bone hooks, the dug-out canoe, and the forked pole for propelling it in shallow water. The peculiar stone implements, such as the two-horned muller, L-shaped and discoidal pipes, and triangular net-sinker, are also noteworthy.

The specialization of culture in this region is very striking indeed when it is compared with the culture of surrounding peoples, as for instance, the Paiute to the east, where coiled basketry predominates and tule work is almost unknown, and with that of the Indians of the Upper Columbia river region to the north, whose culture was very largely influenced by the buffalo or plains Indian culture. A comparison with the Oregon Indians is difficult not only because the Oregon cultures are comparatively little known, but because the majority of Oregon Indians, owing to their habitat, showed either a coast or a desert culture, which is not readily comparable with the inland lake environment and culture of the Klamath and Modoc. The Indians in certain respects most similar to the Lutuami in culture lived down the Klamath river in the northwestern part of California. Here are found such things as the stone maul and the large triangular fish net. Here also the basketry is entirely twined and in a large measure of comparatively soft materials; and the willow or hazel burden baskets are very similar in their general appearance, form, and particularly in the border finish.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
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Dug-out canoes, though of a somewhat different form, are also made in northwestern California, and in general the art of working wood is well developed there. In fact, it is so well developed that the most characteristic wooden implements of northwestern California are not paralleled among the Klamath and Modoc or any of the California Indians. The Klamath and Modoc also have the earth house and the tule mat house, the tule raft, and the tule moccasin, and they also burn the dead, in all which respects they differ from the Indians of northwestern California. In these respects they agree with the Indians of a large part of the great Central California culture area, sometimes more closely with peoples that are near-by, such as the adjacent Achomawi, sometimes, especially in single characteristics, with those more distant. On the whole, however, the Lutuami must be placed in a class by themselves, at least as regards their material culture, with their specialized tule and stone objects, and implements for use on the water, and their characteristic foods. In large part this specialization is the outcome of habitat in a restricted and unusual environment of large, shallow, inland lakes.

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6:Clifton & Levine E,P-4,5 (1958-1959) 1963 NR10 Klamath NR10
Klamath Reservation

[p.1]

Section I. Introduction

This is a report on the personality dynamics of a highly acculturated American Indian population, the Klamath of south-central Oregon. The report consists of blind, idiographic assessments of ten selected cases. The subjects are male and female Klamath of various age groups who occupy different status positions and who perform widely divergent social roles in the context of Klamath reservation culture. 121 125 [101]

As is the case with similar culture and personality research, one aim of this report is descriptive, that of recording variant attributes of personality, attributes which are not frequently observable in the usual clinical or research settings of western culture. Thus some mental health and social science personnel may find the report of value because of the unusual character structure of the subjects, but those who serve reservation populations in clinical settings and those who observe for research purposes will find these ten Klamath subjects familiar. In addition to the objective of description we hope that the analysis of these cases will contribute to an understanding of the psychological— particularly the interpersonal aspects of Klamath reservation life. Beyond these goals, the synthesis of psychological and cultural data drawn from observations of the contemporary scene may throw some additional light on the psychological consequences of acculturation. 121

The ten case studies in this report were dra n from a sample of fifty four collected in 1958-59 by the Anthropologist during two periods of field research. The original research was aimed at collecting psychological test data so as to make a contribution to a larger study of Klamath Reservation Culture, which involved both a historical or acculturational study of processes of change and a study of the contemporary reservation community. The larger Klamath study is being supervised by Dr. Theodore Stern, of the Department of Anthropology, University of Oregon. The results of the original personality study have been reported elsewhere (Clifton 1960). This early research effort was predicated upon a loose statistical model, and the aim was to correlate personality types with types of socio-cultural adjustment. It was assumed that the very great range of kinds of behaviors and types of adjustment apparent among the Klamath reservation population could be associated with variations in personality attributes as measured by projective tests. 125 114 [101] 121

Two distinct variants of this statistical model were attempted and discarded before a third was developed. The first aim was to collect a random sample of a target population composed of persons recognized as members of the Klamath Tribe, who currently maintained a residence on or near the reservation, and who had lived all or most of their lives in that area. One of the two models had this population stratified by criteria which supposedly isolated clusters of types of socio-cultural adjustment. Here the form of thought was essentially historical or evolutionary and was quite similar to the model employed in the Menomini study (Spindler 1955). The second stratified sample was drawn along somewhat different lines, and attempted to isolate significant variations in type of family organization (both of orientation and procreation) and patterns of family activity. Because of certain developments in the larger study of Klamath Reservation Culture, and especially because of a very high refusal rate, neither of these formal approaches to sampling could be utilized. [125] [125]

The growing understanding of Klamath Reservation Culture gave cause to suspect the several tentative analyses of the situation upon which these formal models

Section II. The Setting — Klamath Reservation Culture

The Klamath Reservation was established in 1864 by a treaty between the United States Government and three separate groups, the Klamath, the Modoc, and the Yahuskin Snake (Paiute). Because the differences which once divided these original groups have disappeared in the face of acculturation and the common experience and status as Indian in contrast to White, the contemporary Klamath may be considered as one people. This section consists of a sketch of today's reservation culture, and will necessarily have to exclude mention of the local variant of American culture, although Whites form the largest share of the reservation's population.

The reservation lies in what is known as the Klamath Basin, which is to say between the eastern Cascades and the Basin Range. It contains the heart of what used to be Klamath country, for Modoc and Paiute lands were lost in the treaty stipulations. The reservation consists of alternating valleys and low ridges, and has an average elevation of 4000 feet. Of the more than a million acres of land within its boundaries, some 800,000 are covered with stands of commercially valuable timber, Ponderosa Pine, Douglas Fir, and other lesser species. The reservation also includes numerous lakes, marshes and streams, which through tributaries eventually drain into the Klamath river. The ecological aspects of these water courses were essential to the aboriginal Klamath economy as they are essential to the recreational hunting and fishing of the present population, White or Klamath.

Today the Klamath represent an unassimilated enclave living on what remains of their own territory, but in the midst of and intermingled with a dominantly White culture. For nearly a century they have maintained multiple loyalties: to the Agency, which represents the Government, to the Tribe, which was an artificial construct and has seldom been a viable corporate group, to the local towns and communities, which afford them a special status, to their own kin groups, whose functions and structure have changed drastically, and to the State, which now embraces them as citizens.

In the century or more of White contact and settlement the Klamath have lost their former isolation, their traditional ways, and much of their land. Yet in the same years the Klamath have also acquired and learned much, and it would have been unaccountably strange had they not. The growth of mill and market towns and of ranching and farming settlements, the development of the lumber industry, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency, the constant if irritating supervision and tutelage of the Agency, the improvement of communications, the frequency of inter-marriage and co-residence with non-Klamath, their participation in public education facilities, all of these and other experiences have given new directions to Klamath life, so that today no Klamath lives a life remotely resembling that of his ancestors of a century ago. Yet these years of contact and change have not made White men of the Klamath. Instead, there has developed a variant socio-cultural system, Klamath Reservation Culture, which is neither aboriginal nor American in design.

Although much of the agricultural resources of the reservation have been transferred to White ownership, a number of the contemporary Klamath are successful farmers or ranchers. Others occupy homesteads on farm or ranch land but do not utilize these resources. These latter homesteads are little more than rural slums, the scenes of perennial drinking parties. For decades the timber industry has been the mainstay of the local economy, but relatively few Klamath have ever worked in that industry. Most Klamath live in one or another of the several

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

TRIBAL NAMES AND SUBDIVISIONS.

101 The two bodies of Indians forming the subject of the present report are people of the same stock and lineage through race, language, institutions, [197] customs, and habitat. In language they radically differ from the neighboring peoples called Snake, Rogue River, Shasti, and Pit River Indians, as well as from the other inhabitants of Oregon, California, and Nevada.

For the *Klamath people* of Southwestern Oregon there exists no general tribal name comprehending the two principal bodies, except Mákłaks, *Indian*. This term when pronounced *by themselves* with a lingual ł has a reflective meaning, and points to individuals speaking their language, Modocs as well as Klamath Lake Indians; when pronounced with our common k it means *Indian* of any tribe whatsoever, and *man, person* of any nationality. The derivation of máklaks will be found in the Dictionary. I have refrained from using it in the title and body of my work to designate these Oregon Indians because it would be invariably mispronounced as mä'kläks by the white people, and the peculiar sound of the ł would be mispronounced also. To call them simply *Klamath Indians* or *Klamaths* would lead to confusion, for the white people upon the Pacific coast call the Shasti, the Karok or Ara, the Hupa, the Yurok or Alíkwa Indians on Klamath River of California, the Shasti upon the Siletz Reservation, Oregon, and our Mákłaks all Klamaths. It was therefore necessary to select the compound appellation, "the Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon." The Warm Spring and other Sahaptin Indians possess a generic name for all the Indians living upon this reservation and its vicinity: Aígspaluma, abbr. Aígspalo, Aíkspalu, *people of the chipmunks*, from the innumerable rodents peopling that pine-covered district. This term comprises Snake, Payute, and Modoc Indians, as well as the Klamath Lake people. The name of Klamath or Tlámat, Tlamet River, probably originated at its mouth, in the Alíkwa language.

The two main bodies forming the Klamath people are (1) the Klamath Lake Indians; (2) the Modoc Indians.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY,
Washington, D. C., June 25, 1890.

121 SIR: I have the honor to transmit to you my report upon the Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon, the result of long and patient study. It deals with their beliefs, legends, and traditions, their government and social life, their racial and somatic peculiarities, and, more extensively, with their 126 language. To this the reader is introduced by numerous ethnographic 124 "Texts," suggested or dictated by the Indians themselves, and accompanied by an interlinear translation and by "Notes," a method which I regard as the most efficient means of becoming acquainted with any language. In 121 this report I have given prominence to the exposition of the language, 129 because I consider language to be the most important monument of the American Indian. Archæology and ethnography are more apt to acquaint us with *facts* concerning the aborigines, but language, when properly investigated, gives us the *ideas* that were moving the Indian's mind, not only recently but long before the historic period.

Repeated and prolonged visits to the people of the northern as well as of the southern chieftaincy have yielded sufficient material to enable me to classify the language of both united tribes as belonging to a distinct family. 101 In their territorial seclusion from the nearer Indian tribes they show anthropologic differences considerable enough to justify us in regarding them as a separate nationality.

197 There is probably no language spoken in North America possessed of a nominal inflection more developed than the Klamath, although in this particular, in the phonetic elements and in the syllabic reduplication pervading all parts of speech, it shows many analogies with the Sahaptin

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

THE KLAMATH INDIANS OF SOUTHWESTERN OREGON.

By Albert S. Gatschet.

ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCH OF THE PEOPLE.

INTRODUCTION.

101 131 The Klamath people of North American Indians, the subject of this descriptive sketch, have inhabited from time immemorial a country upon the eastern slope of the Cascade Range, in the southwestern part of the 133 territory now forming the State of Oregon. That territory is surrounded 134 by mountain ridges and by elevations of moderate height, and watered by streams, lakes, marshes, and pond-sources issuing from the volcanic sands covering the soil. The secluded position of these Indians within their mountain fastnesses has at all times sheltered them against the inroads of alien tribes, but it has also withheld from them some of the benefits which only a lively intercourse and trade with other tribes are able to confer. 132 The climate of that upland country is rough and well known for its sudden changes of temperature, which in many places render it unfavorable to 137 agriculture. But the soil is productive in edible roots, bulbs, berries, and 136 timber, the limpid waters are full of fish and fowl, and game was plentiful before the white man's rifle made havoc with it. Thus the country was capable of supplying a considerable number of Indians with food, and they never manifested a desire to migrate or "be removed to a better country."

129 The topography of these highlands, which contain the headwaters of the Klamath River of California, will be discussed at length after a mention of the scanty literature existing upon this comparatively little explored tract of land.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

THE KLAMATH LAKE INDIANS.

101 [197] The Klamath Lake Indians number more than twice as many as the Modoc Indians. They speak the northern dialect and form the northern chieftaincy, the head chief residing now at Yá-aga, on Williamson River. [361] [103] Their dwellings are scattered along the eastern shore of Upper Klamath Lake (É-ush) and upon the lower course of Williamson (Kókętat) and Sprague Rivers (P'laí). They call themselves É-ukshikni máḳlaks, abbreviated into É-ukshikni, É-ukskni, Á-uksni *people at the lake*. The Shasti near Yreka, Cal., call them Aúksiwash, some western Shasti: Makaítserk; by the Pit River Indians they are called Alámmimakt ísh, from Alámmig, their name for Upper Klamath Lake; by the Kalapuya Indians, Athlámeth; by the Snake Indians, Sáyi.

According to locality the Klamath Lake people may be subdivided into the following groups: The people at the agency; the people at Kohásht, at Yá-aga, at Modoc Point and upon Sprague River. Their settlements at Klamath Marsh, at Nílaks and at Linkville are now abandoned; the last named (Yulalóna) was held by them and the Modocs in common.

THE MODOC INDIANS.

000 The Modoc Indians speak the southern dialect, and before the war of 1872–1873 formed the southern division or chieftaincy, extending over Lost River Valley (Kókętat) and the shores of Little Klamath and Tule Lake. Of their number one hundred and fifty or more live on middle course of Sprague River; some have taken up lands in their old homes, which they cultivate in their quality of American citizens, and the rest are exiles upon the Quapaw Reservation, Indian Territory. They call themselves Móatokni máḳlaks, abbreviated Móatokni, Mŏ'dokni, Mŏ'dokish, *living at Moatak*, this being the name of Modoc or Tule Lake: "in the extreme south." A portion of the Pit River Indians calls them Lutuámi, "*lake*," by which Tule Lake is meant; another, through a difference of dialect, Lutmáwi. The Shasti Indians of Yreka call them Pẓánai, the Sahaptins upon and near Columbia River call them Mówatak, the Snake Indians, Saidoka.

The more important local divisions of this people were the groups at Little Klamath Lake (Agáweshkni), the Kúmbatwash and the Pászannash

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

one in a series of similar butcheries. Apparently it occurred in 1852, and the particulars are all given in Texts, pages 13 and 14.

One of the earliest reports upon these tribes made to the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Washington is that of Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, dated Dayton, Oregon, September 11, 1854. Palmer states that the lands of the Klamath Indians extend upon the eastern base of the Cascade range for about thirty miles east, and that east of them live the "Mo-docks," who speak the same language as the Klamaths; and east of these again, extending farther south, are the "Mo-e-twas" (Pit River Indians). These two last-named tribes have always evinced a deadly hostility to the whites, and the Modocs boasted of having within the last four years murdered thirty-six whites. Palmer entered into an agreement with the Klamath Indians to keep the peace with the white people, and also sent messengers to the Modocs and Pit Rivers, believing that henceforth the immigrants would be spared from their attacks. The Klamath Lakes were then enfeebled by wars with the surrounding tribes and by conflicts among themselves, and were said to number but four hundred and fifteen souls. He counted seven villages on Upper Klamath Lake, two on Pliock Creek (P'lafkni or Sprague River), three on Toqua Lake (Túkua), and one on Coasto (Kohásht) Lake.* The Indians had some guns, horses, camp equipage, and the aboriginal war-club and "elk-skin shield" (kaknō'lsh). Little Klamath Lake he calls An-coose, a corruption of Agáwesh.

Neither Klamath Lake nor Modoc Indians have taken any part in the great Oregon war of 1854–'56, although their sympathies were of course strongly in favor of the aboriginal cause.

For the year 1854 Powers records a battle fought by Captain Judy against Modoc and Shasti Indians on the Klamath River, north of Yreka, in which some women of the Shasti were killed.

The Report of 1859 speaks of continued hostilities on the side of the Modocs against passing immigrants and of the murdering of a party of five white men in Jackson County, Oregon. Two of the murderers belonged to the tribe of Chief Lelékash, and three of the perpetrators were seized and killed by the Klamath Indians (page 392).

* This would make only six, not seven, villages.

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

NATIVE MYTH AND MODERN RELIGION AMONG THE KLAMATH INDIANS

By Robert F. Spencer

IN A RECENT STUDY[1] of social change among the Klamath Indians of southern Oregon, informants revealed an unformalized synthesis of aboriginal and modern Christian religious beliefs. These involve, among other ideas, an identification of the Klamath culture hero with personages in the Christian pantheon such as the God-Father, Jesus, and Satan. This is of interest since the contemporary Klamath have lost all formalized aspects of their older culture. The major institutions of the past have fallen by the way and, in their overt forms at least, have been replaced by those of the encroaching Anglo-American society. Acculturation is so far along that the observer can elicit only covert survivals of aboriginal ideas. Although the tone of the folk culture has been lost by the Klamath, the reservation life, a common economy, and the wardship status enforced by external governmental agencies combine to effect a haphazard solidarity in the group. It is hence not surprising to discover a rephrasing of older values to meet modern situations. A case in point is the attempt by many tribal members, young and old, to find continuity in folklore and so to read Christian meaning into aboriginal myth.

Klamath culture of the past was not essentially different in its orientation from that of many western tribes. Because the tribe was geographically marginal to several culture areas, it is possible to note the composite nature of its culture and to discern the realignment and reintegration of elements which it shared with California, the Plateau-Basin, and the Northwest Coast. In its overall configuration, the native culture differed from that of the adjacent gathering peoples because the Klamath had settled on the lakes and marshes of the region and depended on fish and a wild water-lily. Beyond the basic economic structure, however, one may note the California flavor of the separatistic hamlets with their loose social and political organization; the weakly developed (and possibly late) wealth complex, suggestive of the Northwest and the Oregon coast; and the formalized shamanistic religion which points to affinities with tribes in the Plateau, California, and elsewhere.[2]

[1] This paper is based on data collected during two summer field sessions, 1948 and 1949, on the Klamath Reservation. Field research was subsidized by grants no. 21 (Reserve Fund, 1947) and no. 1132 (1949) from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, and by research funds from the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

[2] Cf. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 30, Berkeley, 1930), 224-325; Verne F. Ray, *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (F. W. Hodge Anniversary Volume, III, Los Angeles,